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AUTHOR Kisembo, Paul
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ABSTRACT

This book is a briefer, simpler popular edition of "Militarism and Peace Education in Africa." It is intended to interest the African peoples in the problems of peace and allow them to discuss and debate the issues of militarism and peace for Africa and to suggest solutions. It is also intended to interest leading organizations and people working at the grassroots level in urban and rural areas in problems of militarism and peace education. The first two chapters show how, in former times, militarism was brought to Africa by the Europeans through slave trade and colonialism. Chapter 3 shows how militarism continued after independence under neocolonialism in these forms: state terrorism, militarism based on ethnic nationality/conflicts, militarism resulting from "pastoralist conflicts," militarism resulting from cultural and religious conflicts, and militarism based on ideological conflicts. Chapter 4 explores how militarism is still connected to the exploitation and oppression of Africa with the new strategy called "low intensity conflict" or "low intensity war." Chapter 5 considers developing types of peace education and proposed content of peace education. Chapter 6 proposes the content of African peace education, including African history and civilization, cultural and moral education, development education, and human rights and equality education. Contains 15 references. (YLB)

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A Popular Version of Yash Tandon's

MILITARISM AND PEACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA

By Paul Kiseembo

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A Popular Version of Yash Tandon's

Militarism and Peace Education in Africa

by Paul Kisembo



African Association for Literacy and Adult Education
(AALAE)

Militarism

is first and foremost a political phenomenon.

It is a means of securing certain political and economic interests by force. It is violence; not any type of violence, but the highest form of violence, the use of military force, to achieve political-economic ends.'

This popular version is derived from the book
MILITARISM AND PEACE EDUCATION IN AFRICA by Yash Tandon

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Governments spend millions of dollars on arms importations and maintenance of large armies while millions of people are dying of hunger and disease.

Introduction

Why this Edition?

This book is briefer, simpler and a popular edition of Militarism and Peace Education in Africa. The need for a smaller edition arose because the first edition, published in 1989, raised interest among many people most of who could not get enough time to study its almost 150 pages. Others felt that the language and concepts in the books should be made simple to enable more people, including those with upper primary education, to read and understand the text.

Furthermore, it was thought that a simple and briefer edition of the book would be easier to translate into other popular local languages such as Kiswahili. As a result of these suggestions, this edition was prepared.

Peace Education in Africa

Many people in Africa are not aware of Peace Education. Most of the writing in the subject is from the "North" - Europe and America. These writings are only about peace-related problems of peace in the North or as seen through Northern eyes. These problems, according to the North, usually are: nuclear war, disarmament, drugs, degradation of the environment by pollution from factories etc.

Problems of peace in the third world and Africa in particular usually involve: exploitation, militarism, oppression, hunger, disease and drought. These issues are often ignored by the North; there is therefore need for

Africans themselves to research on the issues and document the findings in a bid to educate the African peoples.

This book is written for two main purposes.

- To interest the African peoples in the Problem and discuss issues of militarism and peace in Africa. The people can then discuss and debate on these issues and suggest solutions for them.
- To interest leading organisations and people working at the grassroots in urban and rural areas such as church leaders, community leaders, social workers, teachers, local political leaders etc. in problems of militarism and peace education. This is so because militarism appears in various ways in grassroots communities in urban and rural areas.

What is Militarism?

Dictionaries define militarism as belief and reliance on military strength and virtues. However, military strength is never relied on for its own sake. Most times military strength is used to force people to live under conditions they cannot accept under normal circumstances. In Africa, as we shall show, these conditions are usually economic exploitation and political and social oppression. Seen in this way, militarism is a process in which military values and behaviour become dominant in a state where it is necessary to suppress exploited and dominated peoples who resist such conditions.

The Scope of this book

The book is divided into five chapters. In the first two chapters we show how in former times, Militarism was brought to Africa by the Europeans through slave trade and colonialism. In Chapter 3 and 4 we show how militarism continued after independence and how it is still connected to the European/American exploitation and oppression of Africa. In the final chapter we propose peace ideas and programmes which are relevant to Africa.

Slave Trade Militarism

Africa's contact with Europe

Before the 15th century, Europe and America had little contact. The development of trade and money in Europe, after the middle ages, led to a big search for gold and silver which was being used as currency by the Europeans. There was also a big search for spices and ivory. These commodities were brought to Europe in small quantities in the middle ages. Because they were precious and scarce, they were quite expensive and very profitable in trade. The huge profits made from trade in these commodities forced many Europeans to venture out into sea to go and find the lands where these commodities were being mined, as in the case of gold and silver or where they were being grown like in the case of spices. The Spaniards and Portuguese were the first adventurers to reach Africa and America.

On the west coast of Africa, the Portuguese came in contact with African people such as those of the Gold Coast who were already skilled in gold mining, weaving clothes, growing of crops, ironworks, fishing, salt boiling, etc. Further down the west coast were the people of Congo. The Bacongo were skilled potters. They wove mats and clothing and kept domestic animals such as sheep, pigs, cattle and chicken. They were also agricultural and used the hoe and the axe. The Portuguese also made contact with more African people in southern and eastern Africa. Later on, the Dutch, French and British also followed the Portuguese and Spaniards in these seafaring adventures.

Soon after making contact, the Europeans began to trade with Africa. The early stages of trading, though peaceful, were dominated by cheating. The Africans did not know how expensive gold, silver, cloth, ivory and spices were in Europe. The Europeans took advantage of this ignorance to loot African resources which Africans gave in great quantities in exchange for cheap and valueless items such as beads, mirrors, etc which looked wonderful and of great interest to the Africans. After cheating the Africans, the European traders often fought for the loot among themselves on the high seas. This fighting and stealing was called piracy. Most of the European traders and adventurers such as Magellan, Vasco-da-Gama, Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh were pirates. Pirates are sea thieves.

The governments of Europe raised big armies of pirates in the 16th and 17th century. These armies used military force to divide among themselves what they had looted from other peoples. This stealing turned European nations into thieving nations. Militarism became the main means of getting wealth for Europe. This became even clearer with the advent of slave "trade".

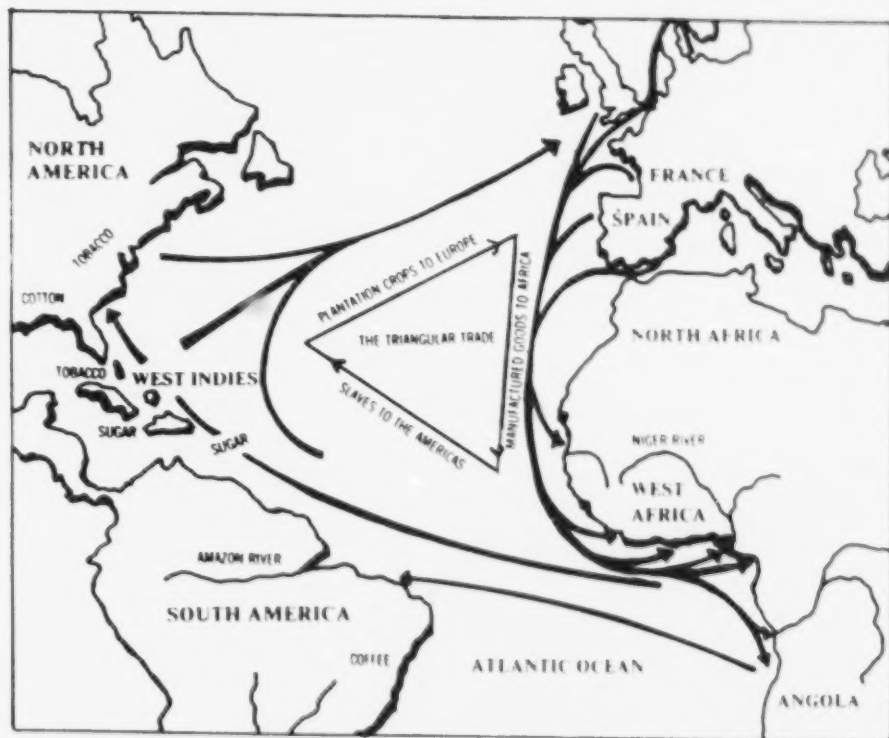
Why Slave Trade begun

Slave trading started as early as the 15th century (1400 AD). However it was the discovery of gold and silver by the Portuguese in Peru and Mexico that led to the need and demand for slave labour. This need and demand created a new relationship between Europe and Africa. According to Walter Rodney, when the Europeans reached the Americas, they recognised its enormous potential in gold and silver and tropical produce. That potential could not be turned into wealth without adequate labour supplies.

"The local Indian population could not resist new European diseases such as small pox nor could they bear the organised labour of slave plantations and slave mines, having just come out of the hunting stage. Therefore they turned to the nearest continent - Africa, which incidentally had a population accustomed to settled agriculture and disciplined labour in many spheres".

(Rodney; 87)

In this quote, Rodney makes it clear why slave trade begun. The



The trans-Atlantic slave trade 11

biggest slave traders were the English, French, Dutch, Spaniards, and the Portuguese. They destroyed the west, south, east and central parts of Africa. They took millions of Africans into slavery and depopulated the continent.

In East Africa, the Europeans used Arab traders as middlemen to hunt the slaves. Today Europeans try to blame the Arabs for the slave trade calling the "trade" on the eastern coast of Africa "The Arab Slave Trade". In fact the trade was completely a European affair since the slaves were required by the Europeans.

The slaves were taken to European plantations in the Americas, the Indian Ocean Islands such as Reunion, the West and East Indies and to the copper, silver and gold mines of Central and South America in Peru and Mexico.



The abominable slave "trade" deprived Africa of her most dynamic people.

Slave trade militarism

Slave trade militarism was the use of military force to destroy African societies in order to take the African people into slavery. During the slave trade, political, economic and foreign relations between the African and European peoples were dominated by the militarist aggression of the Europeans.

In fact, slave "trade" was not trade at all as we know it today. The slave trade was war. This is how one agent of King Leopold described it according to Ludwig Barner the king's biographer:

"SS Van Kerkhoven is coming down the Nile and will demand 1500 porters. Unlucky niggers, I can hardly bear to think of them. I am asking myself how on earth I shall be able to hunt up so large a number ... marshes, hunger, exhaustion. Three times already, I have had to make war upon chiefs who would not help me get the men I needed If a Chief refuses, that means war ..."

(Quoted in Nairobi, 1962, 213/49)

According to Rodney,

"the process by which captives were obtained ... was not trade at all. It was through warfare, banditry and kidnapping".

The results of the slave trade militarism

Slave trade militarism resulted in hundreds of millions of young and strong Africans being taken into slavery in the Americas and other colonies of the Europeans. There are no records showing how many Africans were taken. It is thought that more than 100 million Africans were taken into slavery. This is likely to be true because the African population did not grow for 300 years as a result of the slave trade as the table below shows.

(Population in Millions)

	1650	1750	1850	1900
Africa	100	100	100	120
Europe	103	144	274	423
Asia	257	437	656	857

(Source: Rodney; 106)

Most of the slaves died on the ships. According to E. Galeqno, only 47,000 of the 70,000 slaves carried by the Royal Africa Company

between 1680 and 1688 arrived alive.

Slave trade was carried out for economic benefit. It is the slave trade that took Europe out of its backwardness. This is what Eric Williams says:

"The triangular trade gave a triple stimulus to British industry. The Negroes were purchased with British manufacturers, transported to the plantation where they produced sugar, cotton, indigo, molasses and other tropical products. The processing of which created new industries in England, while the maintenance of Negroes and their owners on the plantations provided another market for British industry, New England Agriculture and New-foundland-fisheries. By 1750 there was hardly a trading or manufacturing town in England which was not in some way connected with the triangular or direct colonial trade. The profits obtained provided one of the mainstreams of accumulation of capital in England which financed the industrial revolution."

(Williams; 52)



"Some multinationals built their capital base on the profit made through slave 'trade'"

Williams also says that the fortunes of the huge Barclays Bank and Lloyds Insurance Company were made out of the slave trade. The two companies today own hundreds of billions of dollars and other assets. Rodney also says that James Watts' steam engine, which made the industrial revolution possible, was financed by the profits from the slave trade.

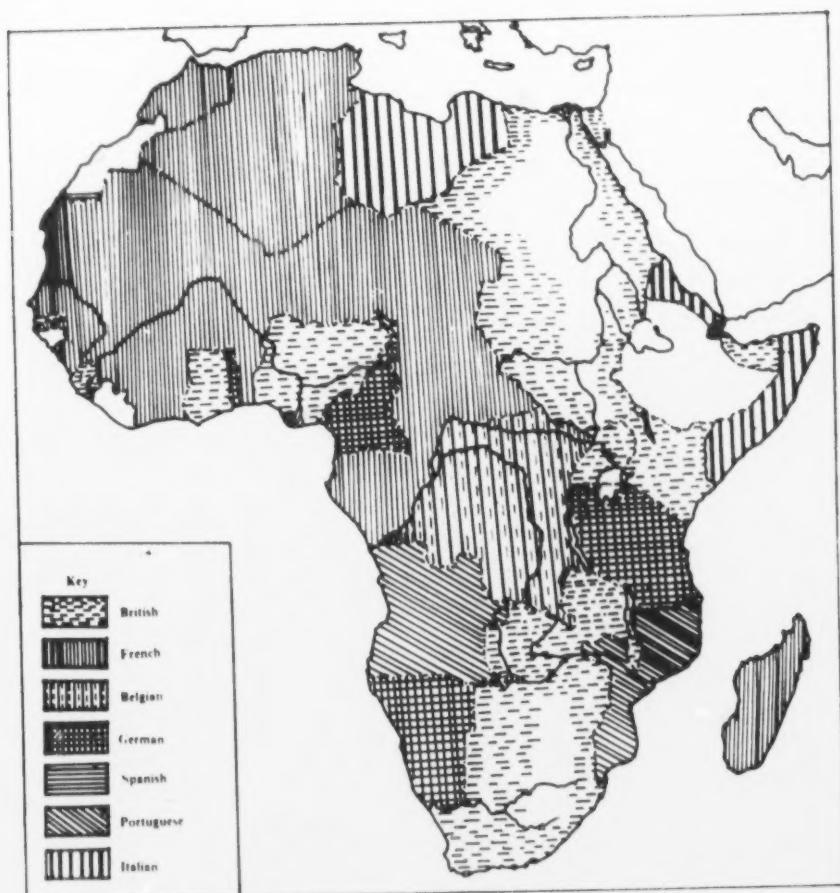
The conclusion is that while the Europeans killed Africans and took them into slavery, Africa became backward and Europe developed. This was made possible by slave trade militarist aggression.

Abolition of slavery and the beginning of colonialism

When industrial production begun, slave trade had to be abandoned. What the industrialist wanted were raw materials, a market for his products, fields for investment of his capital and "free" labour for him to hire when needed and to fire when not needed. The slave system could not provide this. Also, buying raw materials from slave owners was expensive as they had to include the cost of feeding the slaves in the price. The African left on his own land could grow his own food. This would make raw materials 'bought' from him cheaper. Also if left on his land, the African could provide labour in factories and use the money from his wages to buy industrial goods, thus provide market for the industrialist. A slave could not do all this.

The result is that the industrialists of Europe who had emerged as the strongest social group in the society by the 1800s because of their wealth wanted the Africans to stay on their land so that they could grow raw materials. They stopped buying raw materials from the slave planters. This ruined the planters and brought an end to slavery. Most people are wrongly made to believe that slavery was ended by the "abolitionists" such as William Pitt, in the British Parliament.

To ensure that the Africans would do what the European industrialists wanted, the Europeans begun a new system of enslavement but which left the Africans on their land. This system was colonialism. It meant conquering Africa militarily and politically so as to make Africans perform those economic activities that the European industrialist wanted.



Africa as divided between European Countries at the Berlin Africa Conference

Colonial Militarism in Africa

We have seen why slavery was "abolished". Its end did not mean the end of suffering for the African people. It was replaced by a new system of slavery which we have identified as colonialism. It was just as bad or even worse than the old slavery. According to "*Buganda Nyaffe*" a Ugandan newspaper published during the colonial times:

"the old slave trade was better because only a few were taken and those who remained home lived in peace, but the modern slave trade includes children and women."

(Quoted in Uganda Protectorate Report on the 1949 Disturbances)

In the new system, relations between Africa and Europe were again dominated by militarism. Colonialism was forced on Africa by military conquest and was maintained by military force.

Colonialism Imposed Militarily

Competition for colonies sometimes led to open wars between the colonising powers. These were Britain, Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Italy and Portugal.

To decrease the danger of general war among themselves, they held a conference in the German capital Berlin in 1884 to divide Africa among themselves "peacefully". After their peaceful "Scramble for Africa" they turned the violence of their gun on the African people and set out to exploit them.



At the Berlin Conference, Africa was - like a birthday cake - cut into pieces and shared between those present.

At the time of colonialism most of Africa had its own political, economic, social and cultural way of life. At the political level most of Africa was organised under the political authority of chiefs and kings. There were the kingdoms of the Ashanti, the Malinke, the Yoruba and others in the West. In Central Africa, the Bakongo, Shona, Matabele and others had their kings. In Southern Africa the Basotho, Zulu and others also had kings. It was the same in Eastern and other parts of Africa.

If these peoples and their leaders were to be brought under colonial domination, then the African way of life had to be destroyed. Since Africans were well organised in their societies, colonial domination could not be imposed peacefully. It also could not be maintained peacefully. Hence militarist conquest became the only way of imposing colonialism.

In West Africa, the British waged war on the Ashanti in 1823, 1826, 1863, 1874. The Ashanti were not defeated until 1896. The Ashanti defeated the British in the first and third battles (1823 and 1863). In Mali, the French attacked King Ahmoud in 1855 and were defeated. It was not until 1878 that they took Mali. King Lamine Muhamad of the Sarankole people fought the French in five battles in 1886 alone before he was

defeated. In Guinea, Samori Toure led the struggle. Benin was led by Obais Faja and Nana and Nigeria by Sultan Abraham Ahmad of Sokoto. In East Africa long struggles were fought in Buganda and Bunyoro Kitara by Kings Kabolega and Mwanga. In Central Africa Lobengula the Ndebele King was the hero. In Southern Africa it was kings Moshoshoe I of the Bosotho and Tshaka of the Zulu. This is only to mention a few as African peoples everywhere, with or without kings fought the invaders. In the end, the Europeans won because of their superior weapons. The African people did not give up the fight for their land and their rights. Resistance continued.

Colonialism and the Exploitation of Africa

Colonialism was the second phase of the exploitation of Africa by Europe. We have seen that the first phase of that exploitation, slavery, took Europe out of its backwardness and brought the industrial revolution.

The industrial revolution would not succeed without Africa's natural and human resources. Colonialism was imposed to make sure Europe had access to these resources. Like slave trade, colonialism was a system of exploitation based on militarist suppression and oppression of the African peoples.

Colonial militarism was imposed for the economic and human exploitation of Africa. The colonialists themselves have said so many times. For example, a statement from the French Ministry of Education had this to say:

"France would be a little state of Europe without the seventy five million Frenchmen (read colonised Africans) whose young force has revealed itself to the world in such a remarkable manner."

(Rodney; 216)

The 1949-1952 French four-year plan stated:

"Morocco will take an active part in the recovery of France by supplying Manganese, cobalt, lead, canned goods and agricultural produce."

(Ibid; 217)

According to the Belgian Colonial Secretary,

"During the (2nd World War), the Congo was able to finance the expenditure of the Belgian Government ... including the diplomatic service as well as the cost of our armed forces in Europe and Africa."

(Ibid; 188)

Britain paid its war loans to the United States in raw materials from the colonies in the Reverse Land-Lease system. In 1947, West African cocoa alone brought \$100 million to the British dollar reserve. Sales of diamonds during the war secured \$100 million for Britain. Africa's contribution to Britain's sterling reserves was \$446 million in 1945. It rose to \$1,446 million in 1955. This was more than half the total reserves of Britain and the Commonwealth which stood at \$2,120 million.

"The United States too was involved in the exploitation of Africa during the regime of colonial militarism. United States made \$ 28 million out of Africa in 1913. This figure rose to \$ 150 million in 1932 and to \$ 1,200 million in 1948. Between 1946 and 1959, America made \$ 1,234 million in profits out of Africa."

(Rodney; 187-217)

It is therefore clear that the national treasuries of Europe and North America benefited a lot from colonial militarism and that the purpose of colonial militarism was to oppress the African people so that Europe and America could exploit them.



America, too, pillaged Africa's resources the value of which, if expressed in dollars, would amount to a stupefying figure.

From Colonialism to Neo-Colonialism

In 1939, Germany began the Second World War. The purpose of the war was to redivide the world between the great powers as they had done at Berlin in 1884. Germany had begun the First World War for the same reason. It had been defeated and lost its colonies.

In fighting their war, Britain, France, Italy etc, recruited colonial peoples to fight for them. Black soldiers were told they were going to fight for democracy and freedom. After the war the colonial soldiers became leaders in organising their peoples to demand for the democracy and freedom they had been told they had fought for. These soldiers had learnt a lot during the war. They saw the cowardice of white soldiers as they died and it became clear to African colonial soldiers that the superiority thinking of the white Europeans had no basis in real life.

The emergence of the socialist camp after the war was another factor. The socialist camp supported the demand of the colonial peoples for independence. The United States, for its own reasons, also supported the independence of colonial peoples. The United States wanted to have access to colonial labour, markets and areas of investment which the colony owners Britain, France etc, had denied it.



During the 1960s Africans were united in their struggle for independence.

With these powerful forces putting pressure, independence soon came to Africa. The only question was whether independence would lead to true political and economic freedom.

The colonialists who wanted to continue with their influence and exploitation of Africa after independence made sure this would not happen.

They did this by introducing the capitalist system of economy in Africa. As capitalism was introduced, African technology or the capacity to produce machines was destroyed. As a result, Africa could not begin its own industrial production with its own machines as its capacity to invent and manufacture them was destroyed. Africa became capitalist only in the sense that it was a market and field of investments for Europe and of course as a labour reserve.

As such the African middle class could not become industrialists independent of the Europeans. Most of them were traders, farmers and professionals. However, they were and still are dominated by the big ones in Europe and America because they have no technology, capital and market of their own.

Although small, part of the African middle class saw its interests as being the same as those of its big brothers in Europe and America. It is this section of the African middle class that the Europeans put in government before they left at the end of colonialism.

The colonialists did this by educating them in their ideas and way of life. Then they gave them money to begin small enterprises. When they allowed politics just before independence, they only allowed the African middle class to form and lead political parties.

The African middle class like their big brothers in Europe were also interested in the exploitation of their African brothers. To do this, they needed the same instruments of militarism. This is why African middle class political leaders inherited the colonial armies of oppression at independence.

Apart from such things as a national anthem, a flag and definite borders, nothing much changed in the states at independence. The Europeans continued to exploit Africa even more than before and continued issuing political orders to their African small brothers. Colonialism in a new form continued. This is what is called neo-colonialism.

Neo-Colonial Militarism

The meaning of neo-colonialism

We have seen that with independence, things did not really change. All the institutions of colonialism, especially the oppressive ones, were inherited by the "independent" African governments. These institutions are the army, the police, the prisons, and the judiciary. They are the institutions colonialism used to oppress the African people. The fact that they were not destroyed means that colonial oppression and militarism was to continue in new ways. It also means that the interests of the colonialists/imperialists were similar to the interests of those to whom they gave power at independence. The old exploitation and oppression was to continue now under African rulers.

Neo-colonialism means that although we have African rulers, the imperialists are the real economic and political bosses. This today is proved by the way the European and American political bosses are dictating to their smaller African brothers to implement the so called Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) and multi-party systems. Orders on economic, political, and other issues clearly come from Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and even the smaller European capital cities.

Nyerere, after 15 years as President concluded:

"The reality of neocolonialism quickly becomes obvious to a new African government, which tries to act on economic



Kwame Nkrumah: Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism

Julius Nyerere



matters in the betterment of its masses. For such a government immediately discovers that it inherited the power to make laws, to trade with foreign governments and so on but did not inherit effective power over economic developments in its own country. Indeed it often discovers that there is no such a thing as a national economy at all. Instead there exists in its land various economic activities which are directed at external needs, and which are run in the interest of external economic powers. Neo-colonialism is a very real and very severe limitation on national sovereignty In case of a dispute at top policy level, the government will not be able to enforce its decisions."

(Daily News 18:11:76)

According to the father of African nationalism and Pan Africanism, Osagyee Kwame Nkrumah:

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is in theory independent.... In reality its economic system and thus political policy is directed from outside."

It is no wonder then that militarism continues under neo-colonialism. The need to oppress the people for exploitation to continue is the cause of militarism under neo-colonialism.

Forms of Militarism Under Neo-Colonialism

Militarism under neo-colonialism takes various forms. Most of these forms of militarism can be traced to problems and conflicts created during colonialism. A lot of the militarist conflicts going on under neo-colonialism in Africa are a result of the divide and rule policy of the colonialists. The purposes of divide and rule was to cause conflicts among African peoples and then when they are divided and weak, to conquer, crush and control them one by one. This policy continues in Africa today because, as Nyerere says, "matters are still decided from outside."

Let us now discuss the various forms of militarism under neo-colonialism.

State Terrorism

State terrorism is terror practised by a government on its own people. We have seen that the colonialists left to their middle class friends in Africa various instruments of terror. These include military forces, para-military forces, police forces, detention laws, laws under which freedoms can be banned or limited, laws giving authoritarian powers to local authorities etc. The newly independent governments soon added to these their own intelligence systems, vigilantes, youth wingers, etc.

The purposes of all these is to terrorise people into silence as worse conditions of exploitation are imposed. Recent protests in many African countries against the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPS) and against authoritarian one-party rule has shown how these forces of terror are used.

It is important to note here that all these instruments of terror are either trained or financed by the imperialist former colonial powers through so called training assistance or military aid.

There is also evidence to show that the Europeans and Americans support the military when it appears that the people might take matters into their own hands against weakened African oppressive governments.

France put Bedel Bokassa in power, the Americans and their proxy, Israel, supported Idi Amin's coup d'etat in 1971. The Russians supported the coup in Ethiopia and the military rules in Congo. The list can go on and on.



While Africa's resources escape to Europe, what does Europe send in return?

The imperialist countries also sell billions of dollars of weapons to African governments although they know these weapons are almost always used for internal terror and oppression. The table below tells the story of these huge military expenditures while people in many of these countries starve and die of disease.

Military Spending by some African countries for the year 1983
(in millions of dollars)

EGYPT	3,325	ALGERIA	972
LIBYA	3,111	MOROCCO	763
NIGERIA	1,812	ETHIOPIA	493
ANGOLA	992		

(source: World Military and Social Expenditures 1986)

Militarism Based on Ethnic Nationality/Conflicts

This kind of militarism develops because the colonialists drew colonial borders without respecting the national borders that separated peoples. They drew border lines that cut across nationality, ethnic groups, clans, and even families. This for instance was the cause of the conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1973. It is the cause of the Shifta problem in north eastern Kenya and of the conflict in Sudan.

In some countries, the imperialists located economic activities in certain parts of the country while using other areas as labour reserves. This has caused ethnic tensions and hatred resulting in militarist conflicts, e.g. Uganda, where the people of the north were turned into a labour reservoir for the rest.

In some of the countries like Sudan, Ethiopia, Senegal, Western Sahara the conflicts are caused by refusing the rights of nationalities to self determination. Hence the struggles of the Eritreans, Oromos and Tigrians in Ethiopia; the problem of the black people in Southern Sudan and the struggle of Casamance for self determination in Senegal and of Polisario in Western Sahara. The conflicts between the Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda and Burundi also have this character.

Militarism resulting from "pastoralist conflicts"

In many countries of Africa pastoral peoples put up strong resistance to colonialism. The colonialists decided to carry out many military expeditions against the pastoral people. They drove them from their grazing lands to dry marginal areas. In these hostile areas, their cattle lacked water and were attacked by many new diseases. The herds were decimated. As the herds decreased, food became scarce as pastoralists depended on cattle for their food. The pastoralists were forced to sell their depleted herds to buy food.

In order to protect their herds and regain their cattle lost through disease and looting by the colonialists and even present African governments, the pastoralists started buying guns and capturing cattle from their neighbours. This has come to be known as "cattle rustling". However the pastoralists have become more and more heavily armed as they feel more and more threatened by the forced decrease in the number of their cattle.

Militarist expeditions to capture cattle have become actual battles, and banditry and has become prevalent. Independent African states, like the colonial ones, address this problem - which has its roots in socio-economic factors - with a military answer, thus militarising it. This sort of militarism affects the Karamajong in Uganda, the Turkana, Pokot and Suk in Kenya, the Toposa in Sudan, and other parts of the Sahel. However, the militarist answer to genuine socio-economic problems of the pastoral people who were driven to marginal dry areas by the colonialists does not solve the problem but makes it worse instead.

Militarism resulting from cultural and religious conflicts

This type of militarism is mainly found at points where Islam and Christianity meet and clash. There is also a cultural angle to this conflict. The lumping together of people with different religion and cultures by the colonialists has caused conflict. For instance, the Moslems in Sudan and Fulanis in Nigeria see Christians of African origin amongst them as a threat to their culture and vice-versa. The Christians consider them a threat too.

Sharia law in Sudan provoked a civil war. In Kano, Nigeria, there were Christian/Moslem riots in 1987. Since there are no democratic forums under African neocolonialist governments, no solutions have

been found to remove these differences peacefully. So they continue to take a violent militaristic form. Also, lives and property are destroyed during the conflicts.

Militarism Based on Ideological (Superpower) Conflicts

This can best be seen in southern Africa. For instance in Angola, the Soviet Union supported MPLA and the USA supported Unita and FNLA. The militarist conflict became a civil war which has left millions dead. This is true also in Mozambique, where the USA, through South Africa, armed RENAMO to fight FRELIMO which was supported by the Soviet Union. In South Africa, the West supports the Inkatha party of Buthelezi against the Soviet supported ANC. The Soviet Union also supported the Ethiopian regime of Mengistu Haile Mariam against the Eritrean nationalists and against Somalia. These kinds of militarist conflicts have caused a lot of suffering for the African people. Often what have appeared as "internal conflicts" of African countries have actually been indirect wars of the super-powers being fought by Africans.

The superpowers are to blame for most of the militarism on the continent. They supply the arms to support dictators and also support and arm opposing factions, thus making peaceful solutions to differences and conflicts impossible. They have an interest in militarism because they earn profits from selling arms and putting in power dictatorial agent regimes which allow them to plunder African resources. It is therefore true to say that it is the superpowers that have killed peace and democracy in Africa.

Conflicts Arising out of Neo-Colonial Economic Crisis

In many African countries some people were deliberately turned into labour reserves. Today these people are neglected by independent African governments and as a result they demand autonomy or even independence. The conflicts in Ethiopia, Uganda, Sudan, Senegal and Mauritania are partly of this nature.

In Uganda, the people of the north feel disadvantaged. In Sudan and Mauritania the black people feel marginalised by the Arabs. In Ethiopia the Eritreans, Tigreans and Oromos feel neglected by the government in Addis Ababa. They have taken up arms to fight for independence or

autonomy with the hope of doing for themselves what the neo-colonial governments have failed to do.



There is no such thing as a "clean" war; not even conventional wars. All wars are destructive and result in devastation.

Low Intensity Conflict/War: A New Form of Militarism

We have discussed the older forms of militarism under slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism. American (USA) policy makers have now come up with new strategies and theories on how to destroy liberation movements in the third world fighting against Western exploitation and oppression. This new strategy or theory is called Low Intensity Conflict or Low Intensity War.

Definition of Low Intensity Conflict/War

"Low-Intensity Conflict (LIC) by definition is that amount of murder, mutilation, torture, rape and savagery that is sustainable without triggering widespread public disapproval at home. Or to put it another way, LIC is the ultimate in 'Yuppie' warfare ... it allows privileged Americans to go on ... generally living in style without risking their own lives".

(Quoted from Christianity and Crisis Feb 1 1988)

According to a Council of Churches paper; "Low Intensity War in Namibia: New South African Strategies Employed in Namibia":

"Low Intensity Conflict is a cold war, a psychological

onslaught which is waged alongside the military activity in order to capture the goodwill of the people. It is a military strategy to defeat national liberation movements without a full scale military war."

The Origins of Low Intensity Conflict strategy

Low Intensity Conflict strategy is said to have been originally developed by the United States of America generals and military scientists after their humiliating defeat in Vietnam. They developed the theory of total strategy (for the third world) a total war at the grassroots level; using political, economic, and psychological warfare alongside military methods to kill a revolutionary struggle before it gets out of control.

The British and French have also done their own work in this area. For instance a British General, Frank Kitson who fought wars in Vietnam, Malay, Cyprus, Kenya and Northern Ireland, was retired so that he could write his experiences and develop LIC theories. He has done so in a book entitled "Low Intensity Operations: Subversion, Insurgency and Peace Keeping".

Low Intensity Conflict strategies and theories have been reviewed at regular intervals especially by the Americans. In 1980, they set up a committee which met in Santa Fe, New Mexico and produced a report on LIC entitled "A New American Policy for the Eighties".

In 1988, the "Commission on Integrated Long-Term Strategy" including such prominent figures as former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, former security adviser to President Carter, Zbigniew Brzezinski produced another report on LIC entitled "Discriminate Deterrence".

According to the report, many of America's problems in the Third World are centred on LIC. The paper states that in the past 40 years all the wars America has fought have occurred in the Third World. Although these wars have not been very threatening, says the paper, they may gradually undermine America's ability to defend its interests in vital regions such as the Persian Gulf, the Mediterranean and the Western Pacific. Accordingly USA should consider LIC as a form of warfare in which "the enemy" is "more or less omnipresent and unlikely ever to surrender". USA therefore is to take LIC as permanent additions "to the menu of defense planning problems" in which more than the Department

of Defense will be required.

It will require "diplomats, information specialists, agricultural chemists, bankers, economists, hydrologists, criminologists, meteorologists and scores of other professionals".

Strategies and Types of Action in Low Intensity Conflict

The most important strategies in LIC include:

- (i) Mobilising supportive sectors of the population.
- (ii) Controlling the largest possible sector of the opposition with as little force as possible.
- (iii) Killing the sector of the population that cannot be controlled.

Types of action in LIC include

Counter-insurgency: Here internal security systems, such as the army, the police, paramilitary forces, vigilantes, death and assassination squads, are used against the opposition. In addition, spies, informers, state of emergency, emergency laws, detention without trial, concentration camps and other devices of population control are used.

Assisting "Anti-Communist" Insurgency: Here all support is given to groups opposing so-called communist regimes and organisations.

Counter-Terrorism: This involves direct attacks on what are labelled "terrorist" groups meaning national liberation or pro-democracy organisations. Tactics such as letter bombs and assassinations are used.

"Anti-Communist" Propaganda in the Churches: Here attempts are made through right-wing evangelical churches to discredit liberation theology and church leaders who are outspoken on political and human rights matters while the gospel is spiritualised into false evangelism with racial and fascist elements.

Low Intensity War in Africa: How it is Applied

In Southern Africa, LIC has been applied, giving horrible results. The West, and America in particular, have given support to so called "anti-communist insurgency" groups such as RENAMO in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola, Inkatha and Ama Afrika in South Africa. In Namibia they supported the Kolvoet (crow bar). The tactic here is "Vietnamisation" of the war. Other local forces are used to fight the war for the USA and other Western countries. The West in its propaganda shows the war as a civil war or internal conflict among Africans themselves in which it offers to mediate.

These Western-inspired conflicts have been the most destructive form of militarism in Africa. Five to seven million people have been displaced in Southern Africa alone. In the last decade the Low Intensity War has cost two million lives and US \$60 billion.

Mozambique alone has lost \$17.5 billion between 1980 and 1988, and 750,000 children have died.

LIC is also applied through the evangelical churches which urge the African people to ignore economic and political systems of oppression and injustice as well as inequality. Instead, it blames the maladies on the individual who is also taught to wait for "end times" which are said to be near, instead of fighting injustice.

Psychological operations include saturation of the African media with stories that Africans are incapable of anything apart from fighting each other. Biased news, documentaries, etc, show Western agents such as UNITA and RENAMO as freedom fighters. Documentaries also show "how lucky Africans are to live under the domination of the West and how the West "cares" by giving them aid to "take care of their economic mess".



Dressed in rags, a family leaves a famine relief distribution centre, carrying the precious grain on which they will survive for a month.



Many of the civil and ethnic wars in Africa are sponsored by the North.

LIC theorists know that revolutionary feelings have a basis in harsh conditions of exploitation and oppression. Hence thousands of NGOs have been sent to give economic relief and humanitarian aid as well as to "monitor human rights abuses". Many of these NGOs are arms of the evangelical churches. Their objectives are: to pacify dissatisfied populations; to show them that their destiny lies with the West; to sabotage revolutionary politics; and to collect political, economic, social and cultural intelligence so as to "sink the revolutions in baby milk bottles". The end result is to maintain pro-West dictatorial governments which are being challenged in power.

Recently, theories of "managing change" have emerged. These whitewash dictatorial regimes then carry out cosmetic reforms under the cover of democratisation. The changes in Ivory Coast, Gabon and Togo seem to be of this nature. The objective of managing change is to give new life to old forces while sabotaging the new ones so that there is no fundamental democratic change at the level of politics and the economy in Africa.

Conclusion

In conclusion, LIC is a comprehensive militarist strategy of the US government and its allies to manage social change in the third world and Africa in particular in order to protect "western interests". LIC, also known as "total warfare", means death squads, assassinations, napalm, prolonged economic sabotage, propaganda espionage, manipulation of religion and whatever is needed to undermine popular opposition.

The LIC form of militarism has been described as "the most terrible and terrifying development of the modern age" directed against Africa and the third world. Its purpose - like slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism - is to crush countries and organisations in those countries that are struggling to break free from poverty, exploitation and foreign domination by engaging them in a permanent "dirty tricks war" fought in the name of "freedom" and "democracy".

This type of militarism is preferred because the lesson of Vietnam was that US and Western citizens in general do not like to see their young men and women returning home in body bags, i.e. dead. So "cause chaos among the Africans and let them kill each other for us". In essence, that is the Western LIC militarism strategy as applied to Africa.



When will the world be without a trace of weapons?

Peace Education: Its Meaning, Nature and Content

We have seen how militarism in Africa has developed over the centuries. We now have to discuss ways of ending militarism. One of these ways is through Peace Education. It is now time to understand what we mean by peace and peace education. We shall then see what type of peace education Africa needs to help bring militarism to an end.

Concepts of Peace

In the West where peace education is most developed, two concepts of peace have been developed:

- (i) **Peace as absence of war:** This is also called "negative peace". One of its major concerns is to control the arms race. This concept of peace has been criticised because it limits peace to a risky kind of peace where for example the balance of nuclear terror prevents the superpowers from destroying the world; or where people are oppressed into silence by a dictatorial government. It also ignores situations of exploitation. There may not be open war but people may be so exploited and oppressed, like is the case in Africa, that people are dying of disease, hunger and drought. It cannot be said that there is peace in such a situation.
- (ii) **Positive Peace:** According to this concept, peace means not

only absence of violence or weapons but a condition of human co-operation where not only violence but also its causes are removed. Positive peace hopes for a world without violence, without weapons and without exploitation and oppression. Instead these evils are replaced by co-operation and justice by all and for all.

These two are the basic concepts of peace that have been developed in the West. Let us now see how Peace Education is understood in the West.

According to Piet Dykastra, Peace Education should not be a narrow concept limiting itself to disarmament or nuclear education. It should be a broad concept concerned with human and social issues of conflict in society.

In addition it should not be academic, that is dealing with only theoretical and intellectual issues. It should be action oriented. That is to say, it should be the type that can be applied, taught and practised in society. Also it must look at issues of concern to humanity. It cannot be silent or neutral on these issues. It must be critical, committed and engaged in these issues of concern. These are issues like exploitation, oppression, violation of human rights etc.

These are the concepts of peace in the West. Let us now look at the types of peace education that have been developed or are developing.

Types of Peace Education

The Japanese peace researcher, Okamoto, has talked of four types of Peace Education:

- (i) **Peace as a Criticism of War:** This type was developed in the 1800s and the first part of the 1900s. It is based on religion. It takes the form of anti-war movements.
- (ii) **Peace Education as Liberation Education:** This type is concerned with the liberation of man from violation of his human rights, political oppression, racial discrimination, fulfilment of human needs and putting to an end poverty, illiteracy, disease and malnutrition.

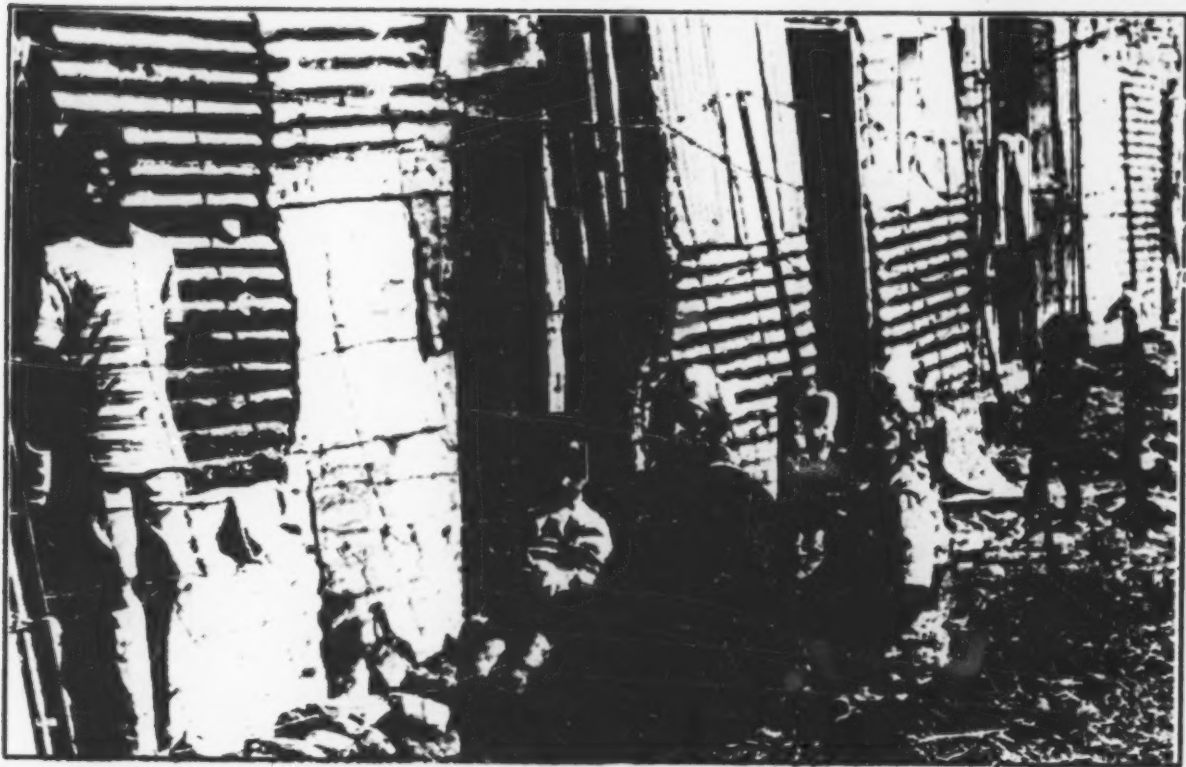
- (iii) **Peace Education as a Learning Process:** This type of peace education lays stress on the learning process in a given educational situation or environment. It seeks to help learning individuals to get or acquire the qualities of tolerance so as not to easily resort to violence and prejudice but instead to be creative.
- (iv) **Peace Education as Life Style:** This type stresses the need for awareness of the causes of peaceless situations and of a peaceless world. It also stresses simplicity of life so that human survival can be guaranteed against the ills of over-industrialisation and over-abundance on the one hand and poverty and unemployment on the other.

These are the types of Peace Education as seen in the West. Let us now discuss the content of Peace Education as understood in the West.

The Content of Peace Education

Helena Kekkonen, a peace educationist from Finland is perhaps one of the best Western theorists on this question. She proposes that Peace Education should have the following content:

- (i) **Cultural Education:** This involves work towards understanding of foreign cultures and the life of distant peoples and towards preparedness for co-operation across borders.
- (ii) **Environmental Education:** Involves familiarity with nature, the global environment as a common heritage of mankind. In brief, how to live in peace with the environment and how to conserve it for generations to come.
- (iii) **Human Rights Education:** Deals with human rights of all peoples in their totality including political, economic social and cultural rights.
- (iv) **Disarmament Education:** Its main purpose is not only to give information on arms and arms race, but principally to change the attitudes involving easy acceptance of war as a means of solving problems, so as to motivate people to start to act in a way facilitating disarmament.



Abject poverty among South African blacks: a direct consequence of apartheid.

- (v) **Equality Education:** Its aim is to promote equality in relation to cultural/gender roles and of different peoples of the world.



Sad consequences of war.

- (vi) **Development Education:** Its aim is to create awareness of development relationships e.g. between the "developed" countries and the underdeveloped or exploited ones in the third world and to create a new international democratic and just order.
- (vii) **Moral Education:** Its purpose is to create respect for human dignity, acceptance of equality among peoples, removal of enemy images and concepts and create human solidarity.



Women and children suffer most in times of peacelessness.

The African Concept of Peace Education

Africa needs its own concept of peace education which will be a response to the militarism we have discussed in this book. This is so because European concepts of peace education are not adequate or relevant. First the West has developed peace education in answer to their own problems of peace. These are not always the same or similar to African problems. Secondly, most of the information about Africa in the West is biased and prejudicial. For instance press propaganda depicts freedom fighters in Africa as terrorists and many people in the West including those in the peace movement believe this. Many examples of this can be shown. Thirdly, the pacifism in the Western peace education movement may not necessarily be accepted from the African point of view.

For these and many other reasons Africans need to develop their own concept of peace education.

Militarism and Peace Education in Africa

We have seen that Africa has been plagued by over 500 years of militarism. This militarism is connected to the oppressive and exploitative systems of slavery colonialism and neo-colonialism. In addition to exploitation and oppression, these systems have brought other deadly problems to Africa. These include disease, lack of shelter, clothing and

medical care as well as unemployment, hunger and death. As a result of these problems the African peoples today are facing extermination and extinction like the Red Indians in America and the Aborigines in Australia and Maoris in New Zealand who have fallen victim of Western "civilisation".

Peace Education in Africa will have no meaning unless it is education to empower the African people, to liberate themselves from the scourges of militaristic exploitation and oppression and other scourges that flow from these. African Peace Education must be what Dykastra has described as Liberation Education.

The Africans themselves must work out the concepts and practical application of this education.

The Tasks of Liberation Education

Peace Education in Africa which we have called Liberation Education must be the opposite of colonial and neo-colonial education which justifies and glorifies militarist oppression and exploitation of the African people and tries to show the African people as inferior human beings or even sub-humans. Liberation Education must reject the conventional neo-colonial education.

It is well known today that Africa is the original home of the human race and that in Ancient Egypt the African people were the first to achieve civilisation, science and a developed culture.

These achievements of the African people were passed on to Europe through Alexandria and other centres of African learning enabling Europe to come out of its Dark Ages and achieve a Renaissance. African natural resources, knowledge, and physical labour later contributed to the industrial development of Europe and America taking both out of their backwardness.

Liberation Education must first of all aim to reestablish these facts in the African mind. It must make clear the African contribution to the human race and put an end to the syndrome of self-doubt and inferiority complex imposed by imperialist colonial and neo-colonial education as well as over 500 years of exploitation and oppression.

It must rediscover the buried African civilisation, culture, science

and technology. In other words re-establish Africa in its proper roots and history and create a base and hope for its future. It must also not be pacifist. It must justify that amount of violence for self defence and liberation from the militarism, aggression, oppression and exploitation of the colonial and neo-colonial imperialists.

The Content of African Peace Education

(Liberation Education)

Proceeding from the above, we can now propose the content of African Peace Education.

(i) African History and Civilisation

This will include: education on the origins of the African race, its development, achievement and contribution to knowledge, science, culture and education.

- Politics, political systems and leadership
- Social formations and responsibility
- War and peace
- Contact with Europe
- Slavery and the plunder of Africa
- Resistance to slavery in Africa and in Exile (in the Diaspora)
- Colonialism and Resistance
- Pan Africanism and Resistance to Colonial Militarism
- Neo-colonialism and Resistance
- Pan Africanism and Resistance to Neo-colonial Militarism
- Neo-colonialism and Pan African Liberation

(ii) Cultural and Moral Education

- Africa's different cultures and heritage
- Culture and Education in pre-invasion Africa
- Culture Education and morality in pre-invasion Africa
- African culture, morality and peace
- The impact of slavery and colonialism on Africa culture
- Morality and Education
- The impact of neo-colonialism on African culture, education and morality
- Colonial and neo-colonial/imperialist culture
- The struggle for and content of a new African culture, education and morality
- The national liberation movements and anti-imperialist, anti-militarist culture and morality
- The conditions for Peace and the culture of peace
- New art, theatre, music, dance, etc

(iii) Development Education

- The pre-conditions for development
- Production, distribution, exchange and forms of co-operation in ancient Africa
- The historical development of science, technology and production in Africa
- The impact of slavery on African development
- The impact of colonialism and neo-colonialism on African development
- The struggle for a new international just and democratic order (economically, politically, culturally, etc)
- Equitable, just democratic and sustainable, development as a precondition for peace

- Training for democratic development and peace

(iv) Environmental Education

- The Human and natural universal environment
- The African human and natural environment
- The environment and development in pre-invasion Africa
- The impact of invasion on the African environment
- The impact of colonial, and neo-colonial development on the African environment
- The struggle for liberation and for the environment

(v) Human Rights and Equality Education

- The origin of human rights, what they are and what they mean
- Slavery and Human Rights in Africa
- Colonialism and neo-colonialism and human rights in Africa
- Equality and human rights in Africa
- The struggle against militarism, oppression and exploitation leading to the liberation of Africa



We must find ways to fight militarism.

Conclusion

We have now come to the end of **Militarism and Peace Education In Africa**. Details will have to be worked out on the content of this education and its practical application.

To be meaningful the peace education programme should be implemented as an adult education or community education programme. It will include the education of the young and old and move them into action for peace and liberation.

To achieve this AALAE will need to utilise and co-operate with popular democratic grassroots organisations and if possible create more. There will be need for training using a grassroots training concept. The people trained or animators will need educational materials which have to be developed and written.

AALAE will then organise its plan for continental implementation developing the programme and networks step by step. This will need human and financial resources. If the above are achieved then we will see the beginning of the end of militarism and with it the oppression and exploitation of the people of Africa.

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